EMMANUEL TODD
Translated by C. Jon Delogu

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE AMERICAN ORDER

AFTER THE EMPIRE

FOREWORD BY MICHAEL LIND

Why is America now commonly perceived as a narcissistic, warmongering bully? How did a country that until recently played an essential role in building international order suddenly become a symbol of global disorder? Why is America no longer the world's principal example of liberal democracy, international security, and economic prosperity? Is the United States, the world's only remaining superpower, in danger of becoming marginal—of finding itself in a world that no longer needs it?

A critically acclaimed best-seller in Europe, *After the Empire* is a provocative and ultimately sobering look at America's changing role in the international community. Emmanuel Todd made a name for himself when his first book, *The Final Fall*, accurately predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union by analyzing its fertility, infant mortality, marriage, and literacy rates. Now, using demographic and economic factors to diagnose America's waning hegemony, Todd offers a compelling reevaluation of American preeminence.

Todd argues that at a time when the rest of the world is discovering that it can get along without America—as more and more countries become increasingly educated, democratic, and economically stable—America is slowly realizing that it cannot get along without the rest of the world. Burdened by enormous domestic and foreign trade deficits, the declining value of the U.S. dollar, the unanticipated bankruptcy of several prominent companies, and the fact that it can no longer subsist on its own production, America is becoming ever more dependent on foreign money, a dependency that is steadily undermining its unprecedented political and economic influence.

continued on back flap

After the Empire

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AFTER THE EMPIRE

The Breakdown of the American Order

Emmanuel Todd

Foreword by Michael Lind

TRANSLATED BY C. JON DELOGU

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[illegible]

184

FOREWORD

Michael Lind

[illegible]

will last for generations, if not centuries.

[illegible]

analysis of their nation and its prospects.

[illegible]

[illegible] use the [illegible] true empire."

[illegible]

Roman empire."

not around the world

[illegible]

social problems within our societies."

[illegible]

informed by a genuine desire that he has scruples but not incur-

[illegible]

[illegible]

behind us and the best may be ahead."

PREFACE

likely, of the standard of living

are value

[illegible]

politically opposed to the United States

[illegible]

what the rest of the world really needs now

[illegible]

United States

[illegible]

[illegible]

reserve currency is becoming uncertain

[illegible]

fall apart

[illegible]

would not have been able to do anything

an emerging shared political sensibility

ing their lot in with France and Germany

[illegible]

opposed to the American war on Iraq.

The United Kingdom did participate in the war, and its prev- [illegible] before [illegible]

a de conception of its Europ [illegible]

once proudly declared its independence

After the Empire

Introduction

mentally a responsible entity?

[illegible]

than one of unqualified support [illegible]

world [illegible]

ever, America is trying to portray Al Qaeda as an omnipresent ter- [illegible] to Yemen—thus [illegible]

"World War [illegible]

paradoxical [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

with W[illegible]

pattern

The war against Al Qaeda—which could have institutionalized [illegible]

where exactly does that leave us? [illegible]

[illegible]

being born"

[illegible]

thinkers will be our surest guides

A [illegible] BEGINNING OF THE [illegible] DECLINE

[illegible]

point admonishingly to the negative role of the United States [illegible]

evil, it is all powerful

[illegible]

[illegible]

his country's power

[illegible]

fragile and threatened

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Because he believes in the persistence of the nation-state, [illegible]

[illegible]

THE PARADOX OF FRANCIS FUKUYAMA FROM AMERICA'S TRIUMPH TO AMERICA'S USELESSNESS

[illegible] gal, Spain, Greece) [illegible] the emergence of democracy in Turkey and [illegible]

[illegible]

lization of the planet [illegible]

[illegible]

amongst themselves

planet of perpetual peace.

Western model

[illegible]
1776 to Pearl Harbor in 1941?

FROM SELF-REGARD TO DEPENDENCE

[illegible]
etc.) and a huge trade surplus.

[illegible]

[illegible]

economic status

[illegible]

ns, that have resulted from it

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

theless stic [illegible]

THE [illegible] AND THE POSSIBILITY OF WAR

[illegible]

places where it first appeared

[illegible]

suffrage

[illegible]

the American ruling class, "the overclass."

[illegible]

aspirations of the lowest 20 percent [illegible] *d en bas*"] by the [illegible]

inevitably downward [illegible]

the Kantian spirit

AN EXPLANATORY MODEL

not get along without the rest of the world

alive in America

the world's resources

[illegible]

America's losses

1

The Myth of Universal Terrorism

[illegible]

remember the fall of the World Trade Center towers, a crime

[illegible]

ing barbarization of the West

[illegible]

[illegible]

Moreover [illegible]

shaping this cultural progress [illegible]

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

[illegible]

[illegible]

LITERACY AND GLOBALIZATION

[illegible]

[illegible]

Indonesia

[illegible]

of earlier industrial development

[illegible]

disorientation of populations

THE DEMOGRAPHIC REVOLUTION

[illegible]

[illegible]

births and deaths

[illegible]

casualties

TABLE 1 Fertility Rates Around the World
(Number of Children per Woman)

	1950	2000
United States	3.8	2.1
Canada	3.8	1.4
Great Britain	2.9	1.7
France	2.9	1.9
Germany	2.3	1.3
Italy	2.7	1.3
Spain	2.5	1.2
East Germany	2.2	
Romania	2.5	1.3
Poland	2.3	1.4
Russia	2.0	1.2
Ukraine	1.9	1.1
Japan	1.8	1.3
China	2.3	1.8
Taiwan	2.7	1.7
South Korea	3.2	1.5
North Korea	4.5	2.3
Vietnam	5.8	2.3
Thailand	3.7	1.8
The Philippines	5.0	3.5
India	5.3	3.2
Sri Lanka	3.4	2.1
Argentina	2.9	2.6
Mexico	4.5	2.8
Bolivia	6.8	4.2
Peru	5.3	2.9
Brazil	4.4	2.4
Colombia	3.9	2.6
Venezuela	4.9	2.7
South Africa	5.1	2.9
Rwanda	6.9	5.8
Zambia	6.9	6.1
Zimbabwe	6.6	4.0
Kenya	8.1	4.4
Tanzania	6.5	5.6
Ethiopia	6.7	5.9
Zaire	6.1	7.6
The Ivory Coast	6.7	5.2
Sierra Leone	6.4	6.3
Liberia	6.7	6.6

Sources: *Population Reports*, September 1991; July–August 2001; Russia and Ukraine: UNFPA

[illegible]

fore have some positive aspects [illegible]

one notices that Indonesia and Malaysia [illegible]

of 2 7 and 3 2 respectively [illegible]

TABLE 2 Fertility Rates in Muslim Countries
(Number of Children per Woman)

	1981
Azerbaijan	3.1
Turkmenistan	4.8
Tunisia	5.0
Kyrgyzstan	4.1
Tajikistan	5.6
Uzbekistan	4.7
Turkey	4.3
Iran	5.3
Indonesia	4.1
Uzbekistan	4.8
Bahrain	7.4
Algeria	7.3
Malaysia	4.4
Bangladesh	6.3
Morocco	6.9
Egypt	5.3
United Arab Emirates	7.2
Jordan	4.3
Libya	7.4
Qatar	7.2
Syria	7.2
Kuwait	7.0
Sudan	6.6
Iraq	7.0
Pakistan	6.3
Saudi Arabia	7.2
Senegal	6.5
Nigeria	6.9
Indonesia	6.9
Afghanistan	6.9
Mauritania	6.9
Oman	7.2
Mali	6.7
Yemen	7.1
Somalia	6.1
Niger	7.1

Source: *Population et sociétés*, September 1981, July August 1982.

[illegible]

1981 birth rate.

[illegible]

their own reproduction.

THE CRISIS OF TRANSITION

[illegible]

a higher stage of development.

[illegible]

[illegible]

of ideological violence

[illegible]

[illegible] all seem

frenzy are only temporary

servatives, a left and a right

DEMOGRAPHY AND POLITICS

[illegible]

THE ISLAMIC TRANSITION

[illegible]

[illegible]

In fact, the original failings of religion in these two countries con-

[illegible]

a conflict of civilizations

[illegible]

than Europe, Russia, China, or Japan. This is why one sees at this

[illegible]

[illegible]

rounding Islam first started to recede.[illegible]

[illegible]

THE [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

no right to brag about their present state and were they to rehabilitate

status of women within Islamic revolutions

THE [illegible]

Christians and Muslims in Kosovo and [illegible] Without [illegible]

reached a birth rate of 2.5 in 1995

[illegible]

[illegible]

aration of Croatians from Serbs.

[illegible]

territory of the former Czechoslovakia

[illegible]

ments about its presumed "essence."

Unfortunately, the events of September 11, 2001, have [illegible]

many wish to believe is universal

2

Democracy as a Threat

man to "live as he likes" (*Politics* 1310a32)

[illegible]

is a necessary condition.

[illegible]

that may be coming into existence

ology cal constructions of the modern world

human obligation between brothers

[illegible] communist [illegible] central France, and Finland [illegible] anthropological type [illegible]

[illegible]

Cousins During the Years 1990–1995

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	5
[illegible]	4
[illegible]	[illegible]
Jordan	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Qatar	30
Kuwait	30
Algeria	29
Egypt	25
Morocco	25
United Arab Emirates	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: [illegible] *Demographic and Health Survey*

[illegible]

particular phenomena

[illegible] NEVERTHELESS ENGAGE [illegible] MYTHICAL TRANSITIONS FOLLOWED BY DEMOCRATIC [illegible] MOVEMENTS

[illegible]

of the traditional family values [illegible] his is why transitional ideologies [illegible]

movement [illegible] However, the various transitions dramatize [illegible]

eventually emerge

Fukuyama hypothesis

[illegible]

sional phase within the transition. The example of Taiwan, where [illegible]

tion notwithstanding [illegible]

met "Third World"

THE UNITED NATIONS OF EUROPE

[illegible]

[illegible]

nation-states with their language, social structures, and customs [illegible]

tal reality on the level of demographics

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] role [illegible] years of exemplary service.

[illegible]

A PERMANENT STRATEGY FROM FRANCE AND GAULE

[illegible]

the old Cold War atmosphere of mutual terror

[OTEN

3

Imperial Dimensions

[illegible]

[illegible] in the role of the Persian aggressor [illegible]

[illegible] credit it out on their own military behavior [illegible]

POLITICAL AND MILITARY ORIGINS OF ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

[illegible]

[illegible] established its ascendancy over these two states, the two foci essen-

[illegible]

is to consume rather than to produce

manufactured goods, represents 366 billion

in the overall trade deficit in January 2 x 2

that of Japan

[illegible]

ing back to their own countries

THE NECESSITY OF A [illegible] AND REV[illegible] GO[illegible]EBYE TO INTERNAL STATIST[illegible]

[illegible]

p y of drinking water

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

blackouts

[illegible]

trusting the numbers

[illegible]

TABLE 4 Economic Sectors and Their Growth Rates in the United States

	Fraction of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2000	Growth 1947–2000
Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	100	4
Agriculture	1.4	1.5
Mining	1.3	4.1
Construction	4.7	6.5
Manufacturing	15.9	2.8
Transportation	3.4	3.5
Wholesale Trade	6.5	4.1
Retail Trade	9.1	4.4
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	19.6	5.4
Services	21.9	5.1
Government	12.3	2.7

Source: Bureau of Economic Analysis, http://www.bea.gov/bea/regional/bearfacts/ [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]tical and military organization

[illegible]

structural outcome of certain free-trade policies

Keynes as well as by most socialist economists of the nineteenth

globalization is to break ranks with the established order, not

Establishment

ict on such a proposal

rise in a planetary Keynesian state

[illegible]

ulate demand in times of depression.

[illegible]

ated a collective irresponsibility.

THE IMPERIAL RESHAPING OF AMERICAN SOCIETY

[illegible]

[illegible]

planet [illegible]

vast majority of the population [illegible]

TABLE 5. Evolution of Personal Income in the United States

Average Income in Adjusted Dollars	1980	1994	2000	1980–1994	1994–2000
Richest 5%	[illegible]	1,684	2,301,146	+59%	+19%
Richest 20%					
1st fifth	91,024	121,943	141,420	+33%	+16%
2nd fifth	52,169	58,065	65,729	+11%	+13%
3rd fifth	34,431	37,725	42,361	+8%	+14%
4th fifth	21,527	22,127	25,334	+3%	+14%
5th fifth	8,920	8,954	10,199	+0%	+14%

Source: http://www.census.gov/hhes/income/histinc/h03.html

[illegible]

inequality

[illegible]

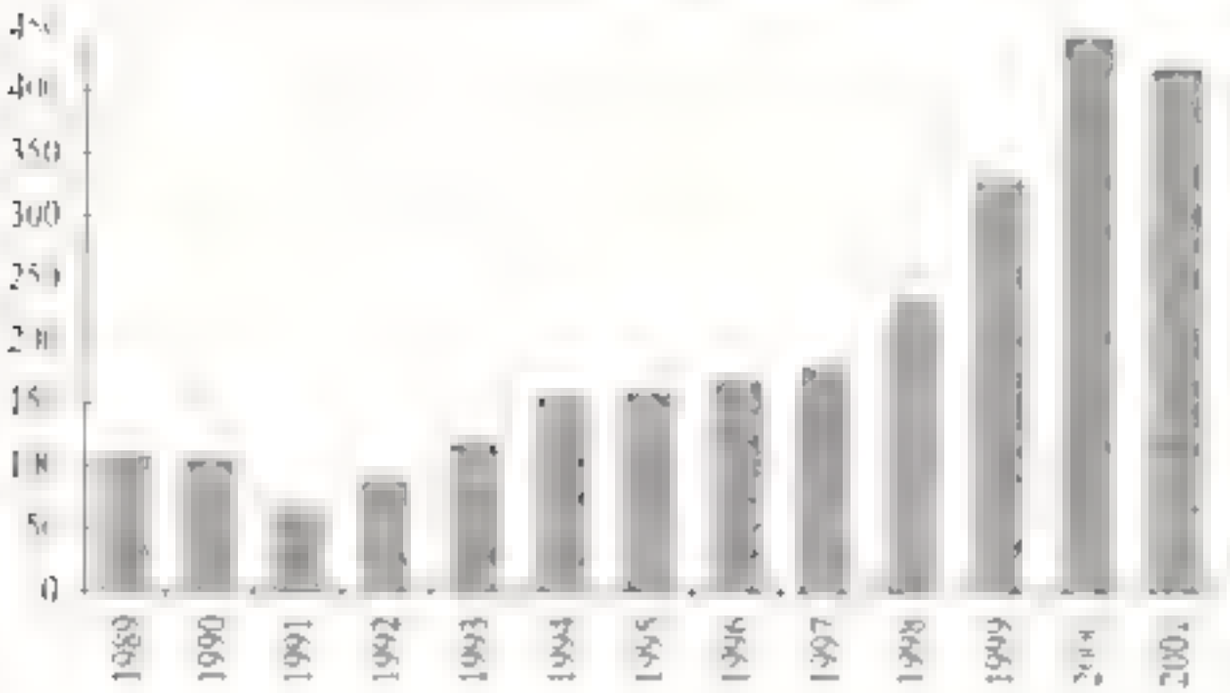
[illegible]

...al domination of the outside world.

[illegible]

superhighway.

[illegible]



Source: http://www.economagic.com/ugo/trade

FLAT PLAY: EMPIRE, THE ULTIMATE PLATFORM

[illegible] than in Europe who denounced free trade and its consequences for the [illegible]

de fic ic ne es

4

The Fragility of Tribute

a modern, European-type army on the other

A TRADITIONAL MILITARY WEAKNESS

German people against the Allied offensive

most to the liberation of Europe

[illegible]

plants, but there is no Hannibal

[illegible]

tion the signifi[illegible]

American side. After some early heroic battles such as Midway [illegible]

unequal numbers of casualties

[illegible]

ground forces

[illegible]

tional sense.

[illegible] Hayes

[illegible]

in the notion of a bloodless war.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE "EMPIRE"

[illegible]

[illegible]

all American military personnel abroad

[illegible]

AN ABORTED WITHDRAWAL

[illegible]

TABLE 6. Average Monthly Troop Levels, 2004

Countries with More Than 200 U.S. Military Personnel	
Germany	[illegible]
Japan	[illegible]
South Korea	[illegible]
Italy	[illegible]
Great Britain	[illegible]
Cuba	[illegible]
Bosnia and Herzegovina	[illegible]
Egypt	[illegible]
Panama	[illegible]
Hungary	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Turkey	[illegible]
Iceland	[illegible]
Saudi Arabia	[illegible]
Belgium	[illegible]
Kuwait	[illegible]
Other Countries	[illegible]
Portugal	[illegible]
Croatia	[illegible]
Bahrain	[illegible]
Diego Garcia	[illegible]
The Netherlands	[illegible]
Macedonia	[illegible]
Greece	[illegible]
Honduras	[illegible]
Austria	[illegible]
Haiti	[illegible]
Italy	[illegible]
Israel	[illegible]
Sea	40,[illegible]4

SOURCE: *Statistical Abstract of the United States* 2006, p. [illegible]

[illegible]

consistent

[illegible]

tations

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE [illegible] OF TRIBUTE

[illegible]

insufficient to nourish the Roman legions

[illegible]

commodity.

[illegible]

countries but instead to provide money [illegible]

THE O'NEILL DOCTRINE

[illegible]

exporter [illegible]

mechanism

considered

[illegible]

profitability

The most surprising thing for anyone who is interested in the [illegible]

what has really happened

TABLE 7. Foreign Purchases of Stocks and Direct Investment in the United States

	Total in Millions of Dollars	Treasury Bonds %	Stocks and Bonds %	Direct Investment %	Debts
1950	58 801	23	2	33	40
1951	78 020	24	45	30	1
1952	1[illegible]786	37	26	17	20
1953	192 387	13	42	27	[illegible]
1954	243 006	14	23	19	43
1955	343 504	29	28	17	26
1956	441 952	35	29	20	16
1957	715 472	29	38	15	37
1958	517 706	11	43	35	12
1959	747 786	23	46	40	10
2000	955 470	25	49	29	27
2001	873 584	2	58	18	22

SOURCE: http://www.bea.doc.gov/.

profits within each national society.

A STATE FOR THE RICH

principal concern—the future of their profits.

[illegible]

[illegible] We have already noted the spectacular increases of the percentage of [illegible]

produces increases in their nominal value

	[illegible]	[illegible]	*Percentage increase*
United States	[illegible]		
	[illegible]		

[illegible]

standing of its evaporation

[illegible]

sometimes willfully misleading characterization of this or that

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] surprising as was its emergence

[illegible]

[illegible] real power comparable to Rome's?

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]ed as second-class citizens be[illegible]

5

The Movement Away from Universalism

elementary power of conquered groups

sition. Peoples whose traditional family structures do not include

and political disasters

the anthropological system

[illegible] which means here [illegible]

and blacks as inferior

[illegible]

of world history

[illegible]

that is unique and fascinating

as the Germans and Japanese until the end of World War II—

from inferior to superior

[illegible]

reduced to a minimum, i.e. themselves—but it can also extend [illegible]

to all Europeans

[illegible]

the shrinking from 1965 to the present day

[illegible]

quantum of "liberty," relatively speaking

[illegible]

THE DECLINE OF MEXICAN MATHEMATICS IN THE ATLANTIC MARGIN AND THE AMERICAS

[illegible] whelming majority of them Mexicans [illegible]

relative solidarity with the state of Israel

[illegible] however

graphic indicators.

would soon collapse.

teenth century: Indians, blacks, whites

[illegible]

the birth rate of Mexico was 2.8

[illegible]

It turns out

play back in the States

regation of blacks

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PAN-ARABISM ABROAD: CHOOSING ISRAEL

toward Israel that America feels

even more eminent for carrying out operations on land. Obsessed

[illegible]

[illegible] maintain control over the West Bank.

[illegible]

[illegible]

kind of support

[illegible]

tice after all

[illegible]

the ultra-Orthodox

ing the differentialism of the Bible

Western power

WHAT

[illegible]

revoked?

[illegible]

out the moon's regulants

[illegible]

[illegible]

French side of my family

AN EMPIRE [illegible] THE [illegible]

[illegible]

the diversity of its many societies

6

Confront the Strong or Attack the Weak?

erate long-term project

FROM THE FALL OF COMMUNISM TO THE FALL OF RUSSIA

[illegible]

it was to their advantage to do so [illegible]

to Head (1992), Lester Thurow announced the future economic [illegible]

tri A dramatic [illegible]

[illegible]

had grown to 285 million

Worse still, national and ethnic independence movements [illegible]

into a bunch of feudal fragments. Many signs pointed to the pos- [illegible]

metrical American domination over Eurasia

[illegible]

of its own production

American leadership is wholly incapable of

[illegible]

power

[illegible]

and energy

THE SPIRITUAL HEALERS ARE CREDIBLE MAN

[illegible]

overtaxes to the plebeians

[illegible]

support of Israel [illegible]

industry

THE BIG LITTLE BULLY

[illegible] groundwork for a Pax Americana by [illegible] among other things, exhibit-

[illegible]

those conflicts

[illegible]

ica's protection

[illegible]

tion in the world in the near future [illegible]

[illegible]

rush to save us from [illegible]

[illegible]

policy objective

THE OBSESSION WITH ISLAM

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] FOR THE ARAB WORLD

[illegible]

extremes

[illegible]

st ethic of the Afghan warlords.

nd arrive

m world

ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE AND THE CRISIS [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

several reasons [illegible]

nomic explanation [illegible]

TABLE 9 American Oil Imports in 2001
(in Millions of Barrels)

Total	3475
Algeria	3
[illegible]	–
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	0
[illegible]	55
[illegible]	4
[illegible]	
Saudi Arabia	555
United Arab Emirates	5
Angola	122
Brunei	2
Chad	5
Congo (Brazzaville)	16
Congo (Kinshasa)	5
Indonesia	15
Malaysia	5
Nigeria	300
Dutch Antilles	6
[illegible]la	485
Ecuador	43
Mexico	495
Peru	25
Trinidad-Tobago	19
Venezuela	520
Other	453

Source: http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade

[illegible]

craft carriers

4. [illegible] THE [illegible]

[illegible]

tonates, Europe and Japan

[illegible] ATTACK THE [illegible]

[illegible]

ment of an effective military

[illegible]

Playing the anti-Arab card is an easy answer for the United

7

The Return of Russia

[illegible]

ence vis-à-vis Russia

[illegible]

force w[illegible]

[illegible]

States, and Europe

[illegible]

[illegible] is a tempting offer

[illegible] situation

THE DEMOGRAPHIC PARAMETERS OF THE RUSSIAN CRISIS

[illegible]

among the highest in the world

Russian history

and often improving

ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND THE RETURN OF THE STATE

TABLE 10 Infant Mortality and Male Life Expectancy in Russia

[illegible] Statistiques démographiques des pays industrialisés et Urbaine et France: Institut National d'Études Démographiques (INED) developed by Sami Monnier at Université de Montpellier.

[illegible]

process of the Chinese economy.

DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA[2]

[illegible]

country marching toward totalitarianism

that has occurred

[illegible]
suffering [illegible]

RUSSIAN UNIVERSALISM

[illegible]

empire. Why?

[illegible]

[illegible] ample of communism

[illegible]

[illegible] plex structure of the Russian Federation

[illegible]

STRATEGIC AUTONOMY

RECENTERING THE RUSS AS

gic sphere, something neither exactly foreign nor domestic. The

in the traditional sense

back much further than the communist era

ely over the whole territory of the former USSR

regimes more authoritarian than in Russia

[illegible]

only countries with a violence-related death rate as spectacular as [illegible]

the Soviet sphere has yet to really disappear [illegible]

lap between Russian and Baltic cultures [illegible]

[illegible]

THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] historical tie[illegible]

[illegible] born there, and from there emi[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]

(per 100,000 Inhabitants)

	Homicide	*Suicide*	*Total*
Russia 1989	22.9	35.3	58.2
Belarus 1989	11.1	33.5	44.6
Ukraine 1989	12.5	36.8	4[illegible].3
Estonia 1989	16.1	33.2	49.3
Latvia 1989	12.7	31.4	44.1
Lithuania 1989	8.9	42.0	50.[illegible]
Azerbaijan 1989	4.7	[illegible].7	5.4
[illegible]	16.4	26.8	43.2
[illegible]	7.0	11.5	18.5
Uzbekistan 1989	6.8	3.3	10.1
Tajikistan 1989	6.1	3.4	9.5
Turkmenistan 1989	8.4	6.9	15.3
Germany 1988	0.9	14.2	15.1
United States 1988	8.0	[illegible].3	[illegible]
Poland 1988	2.4	23.8	26.2
France 1987	1.9	19.3	[illegible]
Hungary 1989	2.9	33.1	3[illegible].0
Japan 1987	0.6	18.6	[illegible].2
United Kingdom 1988	0.7	[illegible].4	8.[illegible]
Sweden 1986	1.2	14.2	5.4
Argentina 1984	4.6	6.4	11.0
Colombia 1984	73.0	3.2	2[illegible].9
Mexico 1985	17.2	3.2	2[illegible].9
Venezuela 1984	15.7	5.1	2[illegible].8

Source: *Demographic Yearbook*

[illegible]

[illegible]

American control

surplus

longer the giver but the taker

military conflict extremely problematic

WEAKNESS AS STRENGTH

nation. For the moment we have noted, there is more violence

Russia

threat

defense potential of Russia"

[illegible]

[illegible] of the world

[illegible] good

[illegible] man power, [illegible]

[illegible] so desire

8

The Emancipation of Europe

French, German, and British peoples

of intolerable differences

[illegible]

exploitations

[illegible]

ical of the stage that precedes divorce

THE TWO [illegible] OR INDEPENDENCE?

[illegible]

tion is understandable [illegible]

to Japan on the other side of Eurasia [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] What [illegible] eral democrac[illegible]

[illegible]

emancipation

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] also concerns Europeans and the Japanese [illegible]

[illegible] United States [illegible]

[illegible]

It is large-scale unconscious factors that are going to decide [illegible] Europe and America. The very nature of things, as one used to say, is going to force a separation between the two.

THE [illegible] BETWEEN [illegible] AMERICAN CIVILIZATIONS

[illegible] ety—are agnosticism, peace, and balance.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

wealth that it did not create

[illegible]

the people it needed to do its work

THE AMES [illegible] THE ATLANTIC EUROPE

[illegible]

about half as much as the Americans

[illegible]

[illegible] or Japanese [illegible] model

[illegible]

Franco and Salazar

[illegible]

nations will trigger a rise of the far right

[illegible]

of mental and political balance

[illegible]

alienating both of them

ened, even before the creation of the euro, by Europe's rise to economic power.

EUROPE'S ECONOMIC POWER

[illegible]

American bases on the periphery of Europe.

[illegible]

throughout Eurasia.

[illegible]

[illegible]

local mercenaries can be done cheaply

[illegible]

of America has become striking

[illegible]

TABLE [illegible] Exports of Turkey, Poland and the United Kingdom, [illegible]

	Turkey		*Poland*		*United Kingdom*	
2000	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
United States	7.2	11.3	4.4	3.1	13.4	5.8
12 countries						
Europe	40.8	43.4	52.3	60.0	46.6	53.5
Russia	7.1	2.3	9.4	2.7	0	0.4
Japan	3.0	0.4	2.2	0.2	4.7	2.0
China	2.5	0.3	2.8	0.3	2.2	0.8

Statistics: International Trade Statistics 2004

country's position in the world

FEAR AND THE MAPPING

[illegible]

[illegible]tary force. Since [illegible]

and the United States in the near future [illegible]

United States in future negotiations [illegible]

worsen and is becoming ever more co[illegible]te. The Muslim world [illegible]

THE FRANCO-GERMAN [illegible] AND ITS EFFECT ON THE [illegible]

acceptable to all the members

growing closer to France in its ways of thinking

[illegible]

spirit of real mutual trust

[illegible]

expanding country of its mammoth size

[illegible]

Conclusion: Endgame

that weakens little by little its strategic standing

had from all sphere was weakening

without risk of the least reprisals

risks

[illegible]

sort of theatrical militarism

[illegible]

les creates

[illegible]

producer of natural gas, as a necessary partner

[illegible]

player sets

new problems for them

DEMOCRACIES AND OLIGARCHIES

kinds of "middle" classes

national or international income

[illegible]

of this latter scenario is quite unlikely

UNDERSTANDING BEFORE ACTING

[illegible]

historical forces beyond our control?

[illegible]

ica that ought to fear an embargo

[illegible]

[illegible]

system.

[illegible]

investment capital to dry up abruptly.

[illegible]

[illegible]

in human history, as with the rest of the animal world, it is never

[illegible]

European nuclear deterrent force

interventionism

contained submission to the American order

exercise of their veto power

its powerlessness

NOTES

Introduction

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2. [illegible] 19–28

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[illegible] 1958)

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[illegible]

economic passivity

2. There is a substantial Chinese minority in Malaysia.

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4. [illegible]

[illegible]

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equality."

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on of a social order." Source: Seymour Drescher, *Encyclopedia Britannica*

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.

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[illegible]

[illegible] by contrasts. And it is the class of citizens which is most secure and [illegible]

[illegible] to be of a type [illegible] could from its city."

[illegible]

post Universal [illegible] 16–19

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more potential statistical segregation of blacks and Hispanics

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EMMANUEL TODD is a researcher at the French National Institute for Demographic Studies in Paris. He is the author of numerous books, including *The Final Fall: An Essay on the Decomposition of the Soviet Sphere*; *The Making of Modern France: Ideology, Politics, and Culture*; and *The Explanation of Ideology*.

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